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728 If the supposed enemy is peaceably inclined, he will in such case send a deputation to the aggrieved nation, with a suitable apology. In general the chief sends word, that the act complained of was committed without his knowledge, by some of "his foolish young men;" that it was altogether unauthorised and unwarranted; that it was highly reprobated by himself and his council, and that he would be sorry that on that account a breach should be made between the two nations, but, on the contrary, wishes for peace; that he is willing to make reparation for the offence by condoling with the relations of the person slain and otherwise satisfying them. Such an offer is generally accepted, and in this manner all differences are adjusted between the parties, and they are friends again as they were before. But should the offending nation refuse to apologise and sue for peace, war is then immediately declared and is carried on with the greatest vigour.

CHAPTER XX.

MANNER OF SURPRISING THEIR ENEMIES.

726 COURAGE, art, and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior. When war is once begun, each one strives to excel in displaying them, by stealing upon his enemy unawares, and deceiving and surprising him in various ways. On drawing near to an enemy's country, they endeavour as much as possible to conceal their tracks;

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sometimes they scatter themselves, marching at proper distances from each other for a whole day and more, meeting, however, again at night, when they keep a watch; at other times they march in what is called *Indian file*, one man behind the other, treading carefully in each other's steps, so that their number may not be ascertained by the prints of their feet. The nearer they suppose themselves to be to the enemy, the more attentive they are to choosing hard, stony and rocky ground, on which human footsteps leave no impression; soft, marshy and grassy soils are particularly avoided, as in the former the prints of the feet would be easily discovered, and in the latter the appearance of the grass having been trodden upon might lead to detection; for if the grass or weeds are only bent, and have the least mark of having been walked upon, it will be almost certainly perceived, in which the sharpness and quickness of the Indians' sight is truly astonishing.

In some instances they deceive their enemies by imitating the cries or calls of some animal, such as the fawn, or turkey. They do this so admirably well, that they even draw the dam of the one and the mate of the other to the spot to which they want them to come. In this manner they often succeed in decoying the enemies to the place where they are lying in ambush, or get an opportunity of surrounding them. Such stratagems, however, cannot be resorted to in all seasons; with the turkey, it only answers in the spring, and with the fawn's dam until about midsummer. In the same manner, when scattered about in the woods, they easily find each other by imitating the song of some birds, such as the quail and the rook, and at evening and morning, and particularly in the night, the cry of the owl. By this means they all join each other, though not at the same time, as they are not, perhaps, all within hearing; but the cry of the owl is repeated from time to time until they are all assembled.

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726 It is certain that the Indians, by the prints of the feet and by other marks and signs perceivable only to themselves, can readily discover, not only that men have passed through a particular path or line of march, but they can discriminate to what particular nation those men belong, and whether they are their friends or their enemies. They also sometimes make discoveries by examining obscure places, and by that means get informed of an enemy's design. Nay, there are those among them who pretend to be able to discriminate among various marks of human footsteps the different nations of those to whom they respectively belong. I shall not undertake to assert thus far, but I shall relate an anecdote, the truth of which I firmly believe, in proof of their extraordinary sagacity in this respect.

In the beginning of the summer of the year 1755, a most atrocious and shocking murder was unexpectedly committed by a party of Indians, on fourteen white settlers within five miles of Shamokin. The surviving whites, in their rage, determined to take their revenge by murdering a Delaware Indian who happened to be in those parts and was far from thinking himself in any danger. He was a great friend to the whites, was loved and esteemed by them, and in testimony of their regard, had received from them the name of *Duke of Holland*, by which he was generally known. This Indian, satisfied that his nation was incapable of committing such a foul murder in a time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers, that he was sure that the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it, and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoes or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other, by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men whose minds were fully bent upon revenge. At last, he offered that if they would give him a

9 [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 349. - Analyst]

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party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted, he marched at the head of a party of whites and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of a mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that man had ever trodden upon this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across those rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the places through which he was leading them; here he would shew them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of an human foot, there that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place, an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat, as in other places; all which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without even stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth, for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the

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●726 Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings** for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not "of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They "are in our power; in less than half an hour they will "all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up "and tomohawk them. We are nearly two to one and "need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will "now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

726 115 This account is faithfully given as I received it from *Duke Holland* himself, and took it down in writing at the time. I had been acquainted with this Indian for upwards of twenty years, and knew him to be honest, intelligent and a lover of truth. Therefore I gave full credit to what he told me, and as yet have had no reason to disbelieve or even to doubt it. I once employed him to save the life of a respectable gentleman, now residing at Pittsburg, who was in imminent danger of being killed by a war party. Duke Holland conducted him safely through the woods, from the Muskingum to the Ohio settlement. He once found a watch of mine, which had been sent to me from Pittsburg by a man who had got drunk, and lost it in the woods about fifty miles from the place where I lived. Duke Holland went in search of it, and having discovered the tracks of the man to whom it had been entrusted, he pursued them until he found the lost article, which he delivered to me.

* Indian stockings.

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CHAPTER XXI.

PEACE MESSENGERS.

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WHILE the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their territory, there was no people upon earth who paid a more religious respect than they did to the sacred character of ambassadors, or (as they call them) *Messengers of peace*. It is too well known that since about the middle of the last century a great change has taken place, the cause of which, I am sorry to say, the Indians lay entirely to our charge.

The inviolability of the person of an ambassador is one of those sacred fundamental principles of the law of nature which the Almighty Creator has imprinted upon the heart of every living man. History teaches us that the most barbarous and savage nations have at all times admitted and carried it into practice. It is a lamentable truth that all the violations of it that stand upon record, are to be ascribed to civilised man or to his contagious example.

It is certain that among our Indians the person of an ambassador was formerly held most sacred and inviolable. All the nations and tribes were agreed upon this point, that a messenger, though sent by the most hostile people, was entitled not only to respect but to protection. To have, I will not say murdered, but knowingly ill treated a person of this description, was with them an unpardonable crime. War parties were always instructed, if they should find a messenger on his way from one

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nation to another, not only to give him protection but hospitality, and see him safely conducted to the people to whom he was sent.

In the same manner, when a messenger was sent to them by a nation with whom they were at war or at variance, though they might be ever so much exasperated against them, and even though they had firmly determined *not to listen*, that is to say, not to consent to their propositions, whatever they might be, still they would grant their protection to the man of peace, and tell him in their expressive language "that they had taken him "under their wings, or placed him under their arm pits, "where he was perfectly safe." It was with them a point of religious belief, that pacific messengers were under the special protection of the Great Spirit, that it was unlawful to molest them, and that the nation which should be guilty of so enormous a crime would surely be punished by being unsuccessful in war, and perhaps, by suffering a total defeat. Therefore, frequent instances happened of such messengers being sent back with the most threatening messages, such as, that it was determined to wage a war of blood and destruction, and that no quarters would be given, yet the ambassadors themselves did not meet with the least insult or disrespect; they were protected during all the time that they remained in the hostile country, and were safely conducted to their own nation, or at least, so far on their way as to be out of danger from the enemy's warriors, leaving them a sufficient time to reach their houses, before a fresh stroke was made, to give notice that the truce was at an end or that the war was begun. I have heard of messengers being sent back with a message to this effect: "I return "to your bosom, safe and unmolested, the messengers "you sent me. The answer to the speech they brought "me from you, you will learn from my young warriors, "who are gone to *see* you." The nature of the *visit* thus announced may be easily guessed at. The message

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was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to take place.

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct of the Indians in former times. How different it is at present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy fate of Messrs. *Trueman*, *Freeman*, and *Hardin*. These three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year 1792, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say.

The principal reasons which they assign as having brought about this great change, are comprised under the following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they should treat another, and even how they should speak and what they should say to them, and by this means have entirely destroyed their national independence. That they have even encouraged and supported one Indian nation in not only affecting but actually exercising dominion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a contemptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sacred character of messengers, but murdered them as well as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction. That they even polluted what among them is esteemed most holy and inviolable, their *council fires*, extinguishing them (as they express themselves) with streams of the best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we "do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is "your lands, and those we will have."

Nor are they at a loss when called upon to specify the particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

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a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of the most prominent.

1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a *council fire* was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at Kanhawa, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburg, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at Pittsburgh, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on Muskingum, by Williamson's party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on *messengers*, *visiters*, and other *friendly* Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in-"strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

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CHAPTER XXVII.

SCALPING—WHOOPS OR YELLS—PRISONERS.

726 727 **SCALPING** is a practice which the Indians say has obtained with their nations for ages. I need not describe the manner in which the operation is performed, it has been sufficiently done by others.* Indian warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valour; otherwise they are afraid that their relations of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. Those scalps are dried up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can shew. 554

726 302 It is well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads, but the reason of this exception is not, perhaps, so well understood, which is no other than to enable themselves to take off each others' scalps in war with greater facility. "When we go to fight an enemy," say they, "we "meet on equal ground; and we take off each other's "scalps, if we can. The conqueror, whoever he may be, "is entitled to have something to shew to prove his bra-"very and his triumph, and it would be *ungenerous* in a "warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acqui-"ring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit. A "warrior's conduct ought to be *manly*, else he is *no man*." As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it

* See Loskiel, p. 1. ch. 11.

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would seem, as far as I have known, to be the result of a tacit agreement among them, to leave the usual trophies of victory accessible to the contending warriors on all sides; fearing, perhaps, that if a different custom should be adopted by one nation from motives of personal safety, or to destroy the warlike reputation of their rivals or enemies, it might be easily imitated on the other side, and there would be an end to Indian valour and heroism. Indeed, it is certain, that all the weapons which the Indians make use of in war are intended for *offence*; they have no breast-plates, helmets, nor any arms or accoutrements of the defensive kind, and it is not the least remarkable trait in their warlike character, that they make it even a point of honour to offer a hold of their persons to their enemy, by which if he should be possessed of greater skill or courage than themselves, he may not only the more easily destroy them, but is enabled to carry home their bloody spoils as trophies of his victory.

I once remarked to an Indian that if such was their reason for letting a tuft of hair grow on the top of their heads, they might as well suffer the whole to remain, and I could not perceive why they were so careful in plucking it out. To this observation he answered: "My friend! a human being has but one head, "and one scalp from that head is sufficient to shew that "it has been in my power. Were we to preserve a "whole head of hair as the white people do, *several* scalps "might be made out of it, which would be *unfair*. Be- "sides, the coward might thus without danger share in "the trophies of the brave warrior, and dispute with him "the honour of victory."

When the Indians relate their victories they do not say that they have taken so many "*scalps*," but so many "*heads*," in which they include as well those whom they have scalped, but left alive, (which is very often the case) and their prisoners, as those whom they have killed.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.[163] From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which peo-
431 ple behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

> In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.[164]

Denton in the same vein said:

> They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.[165]

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.[166]

War

726 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the
174 typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

> In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social interprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.[167]

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[163] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[164] Penn, 1882, p. 243.
[165] Denton, 1845, p. 9. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.
[166] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.
[167] Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Kroeber, on the other hand, has characterized warfare for the northeast as a whole as being of the modern, total kind:

> It was warfare that was insane, unending, continuously attritional, from our point of view; yet it was so integrated into the whole fabric of Eastern culture, so dominantly emphasized within it, that escape from it was well-nigh impossible.... This warfare, with its attendant unsettlement, confusion, destruction, and famines, was probably the most potent reason why population remained low in the East.[168]

There is no evidence which would support Kroeber's allegations, at least with respect to the prehistoric and early historic Delawares. Whether population density was low or not is conjectural, but even on the assumption that it was low, there is a much more realistic hypothesis available to explain it than the one offered by Kroeber. (See the Summary for this discussion.)

In the face of lack of evidence substantiating chronic and total warfare among the early Delawares, it is necessary to utilize indirect evidence to demonstrate that this type of conflict was minimal. The archaeology of the area offers little of a positive nature. Village sites of the East River Aspect, so far as can be determined, were not fortified or palisaded. They were "situated on or near tidal streams and bays."[169] A few sources mention palisades, but the evidence is not conclusive.[170] In Chapter I it was noted that Delaware villages were small, scattered, and on poorly defensible ground. During part of the year even village units did not exist, since family groups were away hunting. These facts do not suggest a martial atmosphere. If population densities were low, it seems unlikely that competition for agricultural land or for choice fishing locations existed. Disputes over hunting territories might have occurred, but these would have been primarily a family matter rather than of general concern. For chronic, vicious, and total war to exist there has to be a fairly strong motivation. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, cultures do not indulge in full-scale war, in the modern sense of the word, simply as an outlet for "psychological urges" or as a game.[171] As has been shown in the first chapter, Delaware culture in precontact times was in a political sense almost wholly unorganized. There was no tribe and there were apparently no institutions which in the event of invasion or attack could organize the people into an effective unit. It is difficult to believe that a people perilously and unendingly at war (for no apparent reason) would have as rudimentary a political and military organization as had the Delawares. Even in this cursory examination of the problem, it is clear that the precontact Delawares could have had only a small-scale, primitive war complex. This condition rapidly changed with the invasion of Europeans; chronic warfare of the most bitter kind soon came to be the daily pill of the Delawares. (This subject is taken up more fully in Chapter V.)

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[168] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.

[169] C. S. Smith, 1950, p. 116.

[170] Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1947, p. 7.

[171] Newcomb, 1950, pp. 317-30.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[173]

Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[174]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[175] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obta ned among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[176]

The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[178] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey feathers when going to war.[177]

War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[173] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[174] Trowbridge MS.
[175] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[176] Trowbridge MS.
[177] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Loskiel, 1794, p. 141.
[178] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[180] Holm, p. 138.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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372 were generally careful to keep burning. On journeys they were accustomed to carry fire with them from one lodging-place [484] to another, for which purpose they used a certain kind of fungus,[40] that grows upon trees. With such a glowing piece of fungus they could travel from morning to evening. This custom has to the present day not ceased among the Indians, nor has the method of making fire described above, some still employing it on special occasions and in connection with their sacrifices, in order to remind themselves of former customs and usages. Fire-
313 wood they did not split in former days nor could they have done so with their hatchets of stone. They burned it into pieces of such length that could be carried home. They built a fire against the trunks of standing trees and kept it burning until they fell, which method still obtains among them, especially the older ones, for whom it is difficult to fell trees and split wood and who, perhaps, do not even own a hatchet. These may not burn a piece of split wood during a whole winter, but provide fuel for themselves in the manner described, which is quite easy and convenient for them.

396 Canows made of wood as well as bast, they also had in earlier days, fashioning the former out of a whole tree trunk, which they burned out and only used their hatchets to chop off glowing coals, lest they should burn in deeper in one place than another or even burn a hole through.

342 Their dwellings were huts of bark, which they lined with rushes in order to keep out the cold, roofed they were with bark, even as is the case now, though sometimes rushes or long, dry reed-grass served the purpose.

Underground dwellings there were, also, of which here and there traces may be found, particularly along the Muskingum, in which region one may yet see many places, where embankments, still to be seen, were thrown up around a whole town.[41] Here and there, furthermore, near the sites of such towns there
361 are mounds, not natural, but made by the hand of man, for in
●726 those days the natives carried on great wars with one another, Indians being formerly, according to their own testimony, far more numerous than at the present time. At the top of these mounds there was a hollow place, to which the Indians brought

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their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees.[18]

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land, their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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726 have recovered. As soon as they enter the enemies' country they can hunt no longer for fear of being betrayed. They provide themselves, therefore, with provisions for several days and watch their opportunity. Occasionally they must lie in hiding many days until their purpose is attained. As soon as the deed has been accomplished, they hurry away, exercising the greatest caution inasmuch as they know that they will be pursued and
727 may themselves suffer injury. Those whom they kill are scalped and the scalps taken home. Prisoners secured are bound and led away and kept bound until they are no more in fear of pursuers. Thereafter the prisoners' fetters are loosed during the day. During the night they are fastened by their feet to a stake so split as to admit one leg, this stake being fastened to another that is driven into the ground. If one of them is wounded the warriors apply remedies which they carry with them on their expeditions and generally succeed in restoring them. Often the wounded must be carried, and if it is at all possible to get them away they are not left to perish. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, or bury the dead lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. In a skirmish with the whites they generally remove their dead, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.[289] They generally return from a war in a half-starved state, which is not to be wondered at because of the hard experiences they have gone through, especially on the return. On the return march they are constantly in fear, not knowing which night their enemies may fall upon them, hence they proceed by forced marches until they know themselves to be out of danger. Occasionally, they are attacked at night or at break of day, when they sometimes succeed in saving life by flight, leaving their weapons and everything else behind. Thus deprived, they may be able to travel several hundred miles until they arrive in the territory of peaceful nations where they again find sustenance. They generally suffer excessive hunger and fatigue by the way, living upon the bark of trees, wild herbs and roots. Much of this they do not have to fear when engaged in war with whites, for these will not pursue them for any great distance. Cases have been known where the Indians have attacked

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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622 reprimand, and must promise to fulfill his duty better in the future.

The name Delawares undoubtedly has its origin with the Europeans, for neither they themselves nor other nations use this name. They call themselves the Lenni-Lenape Indians or *Il'oapanachke*, that is people living towards the rising of the sun, having formerly inhabited the eastern coast of North America. It is possible that the word Delawares should have been applied to the nation; because the Unami Tribe, which lived nearest the sea, uses the word *'udellowen* very much. This word, meaning "I say," being a verb, appears frequently and in many forms in the conversation of the people. The first Europeans, not understanding the language and hearing this word very often may have made Delaware out of it and called the people thus. The Indians themselves believe this to be the explanation, though it is possible that the Europeans have another, of which I am not aware."[1]

211 If a party of Indians have spent a night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts but also by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they belong. For they always leave a mark behind made either with red pigment or charcoal. Such marks are understood by the Indians who know how to read their meaning. Some markings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the number of nights they spent there, the [532] number of deer, bears and other game killed during the hunt. The warriors sometimes paint their own deeds and adventures, the number of prisoners or scalps taken, the number of troops they commanded and how many fell in battle.

726 If two nations are engaged in war and the warriors of one commit some murderous act, it is not uncommon that they leave the hatchet in the head of the victim who has been scalped or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge, in consequence of which, a captain of the insulted party takes up the weapon of the murderers and hastens into their country to be avenged. He will do much the same thing, leaving his weapon upon the murdered, and

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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endeavor to bring back a scalp or several scalps to show that he has avenged the rights of his nation.

Across the Mississippi there lives a nation called the Su.[225] They live along the river Su far beyond the Illinois, where there are vast plains without trees and on which wild goats, buffalo and other game graze. As there is no wood, the Indians burn dried buffalo manure. For the winter they provide themselves with peat, which they dry with grass. Their utensils they make of clay and burn them, wherever they may be, for they travel from place to place following game. Their weapons are the bow and arrow. Water being scarce on the plains, they catch the dew for cooking and drinking purposes. For this purpose they use large sponges that grow on the rocks in the rivers. This I have been told by an Englishman who lived sometime in that country. These Indians trade with the Spaniards. I have heard from various sources that the further west one goes the more extensive are the plains.

Da 105

Indians usually treat one another with kindness and civility and in their bearing toward one another are modest. They are communicative but thoughtful. Of empty compliments they know nothing. In meeting it is customary to shake hands, greet one another with the friendly title of Father, Older or Younger Brother, Uncle, Cousin, Grand Son, Grandfather and say "I am glad to see you." Sometimes all this is repeated when the guests have been sometime in the house. Expression of greeting through others is hardly customary, occasionally a gift is sent by way of greeting. Greetings are expressed in all sincerity. If sentiments do not correspond to words and forms, the latter are dispensed with. If warriors, going to war or coming from war, when the murderous spirit is on them greet one (I will not say an Indian, for that were nothing unusual, but a white person) one may certainly believe to possess their favor and good grace and need fear no harm, for if they have the least feeling against anyone, they will use no form of greeting. This I know from frequent experience. An Indian carries pouch and pipe with him wherever he goes, for they are indispensable. For state occasions they may have an otter skin

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11. A syrup made by roasting onions is taken for colds. For infants and small children the syrup is sweetened and a few drops taken clear or in milk.

12. Mutton tallow is an emollient for chapped and irritated skin. It is used to make ointment.

13. Muscular cramps may be relieved by bathing the affected parts with urine.

14. A tea made from roasted, charred pig hoofs is beneficial for colds.

15. For snake bite suck the venom from the wound with a hollow piece of deer antler.

16. Treatment of sick horses. Years ago, after their migration westward, the Delaware used horses for travel. Often their animals would become ill during hunting activities on the Western plains. This was believed due to unsuitable drinking water or from eating poisonous weeds. Other disabilities were due to "bots"[6] or colic. For colic, strong tobacco juice, or gun-powder dissolved in hot water was administered. The most effective treatment was to throw a bucket of very hot water containing finely chopped bits of weasel hide[7] over the horse. Then the owner would force his weight up and down on the animal's abdomen or occasionally, beat it with a wet, heavy blanket for ten or fifteen minutes. The horse soon recovered and was again on his feet.

Warrior's Medicine

Warriors long ago also received gifts from supernatural agencies which enabled them to excell in feats of bravery. Their power came in dream-visions in which the identity of the supernatural was made known. Sometimes a power-song was granted at the same time. Certain men were appointed as leaders of the warriors and custodians of the secret formulæ, from which a particular preparation called "warrior medi-

[6] The larvæ of certain flies. Eggs are laid on the inside of the animal's foreleg, gain entrance into the blood stream and are carried to the alimentary tract where incubation takes place.

[7] The hide of the so-called "spotted weasel" is used for this purpose. My informant had never seen this animal but it had been described to him by his mother. It may refer to the ordinary weasel at the period of seasonal pilage change from brown to white. The species known to the Delaware are the Bonaparte (*Mustela cicognani*), and New York weasel (*M. noveboracensis*), Anthony, 1928, p. 102.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

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Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

[756]

The Otter Medicine

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The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95).

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204).

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes.

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142).

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors.

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

be more complete (Loskiel, p. 143). The typical pre-white type of conflict was one in which a captain took a group of eight or ten warriors on a raid of the enemy camp, from which they carried off what goods they could, a few scalps and prisoners. If the chief of the raiding tribe did not denounce the raiding party and make recompense to the other tribe, war would be declared (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 176; Loskiel, p. 148). The warriors were recruited at a dance in which they signified their desire to participate by joining the warriors already dancing. This was a festive occasion at which women were present and it was repeated at the first night's camping ground to which the women followed the warriors (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210; Loskiel, p. 146).

Prisoners were taken primarily to replace men of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died a natural death since the last war. On the march home prisoners received the same fare as the warriors themselves, but at each Delaware town they passed they were forced to perform for the amusement of the townspeople and run the gauntlet. This ordeal consisted in running between two parallel lines in which the townspeople were drawn up and suffering the blows of the double file until a specified pole was reached which guaranteed their safety. When the home village was reached, the same procedure occurred except that those who were to be adopted were sometimes protected by their foster families. Those who were not adopted were tortured in most of the ways the human mind has been able to devise, but gradual dismemberment and slow burning seem to have been the most common. A prisoner who remained impassive under this treatment was held in high esteem.

Women and children were not usually injured and the peace messenger was also granted immunity, indeed hospitality. Two essential ceremonies of the peace conference were the smoking of the peace pipe and the exchanging of strings of wampum to confirm the covenant (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 215-18; Loskiel, pp. 143-156; Hill, pp. 53-55; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 102-03 and 151).

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the stone axe and a club with a rounded knob on the end. For defense they had a shield and helmet made of wooden sticks bound together with leather or hemp cord (Johnson, 1915, pp. 201-02; Loskiel, p. 141). Some of the east coast villages were palisaded for protection (Krieger, p. 51; Brinton, 1885, p. 51; Skinner, 1915, p. 7; Heye, p. 11).

Crime

Offenses against members of the group became a concern of the chief only when they could not be settled by the families concerned. "The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[1]

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THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

yu'kwe nda'yaxkənu't·əmən e·'hele·k lə'mwe
Now I am relating how these performances long ago

ə'nda e·lowę'si·k' do·'p·ali·n ni·kani·'xiŋgi·k' i·la·'ək'
when it was called scouting. The leading warriors

maeŋge·'yək' a'kənu't·aa·u e·'loweŋg pənahɔ'k·i·en
called together a council, they talked about what is called exploring

ci·'takɔ do·'p·ali·n ək a'kəni·ma'n ski·no'wək'
or scouting and they talked to young men

kę'ci·lɔ·i·'tci·k ke'ko e·hel·ɑ'ci·mwi·'"ti·t'
those who "great men" are in something who had had visions in dreams

wuska'ti·la'ək hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n ək wu'ndji· ki·ki·'naməŋ
the young warriors are trained and so are acquainted with

we·'mi· yu'ta li·' te·'kane. wa'ni· ni·kani·'xiŋ ək
all this the wilderness. The leader and

məte·'inowək kələ'n·əmuk' i·laopa'ə·i·'kan ne·'ako
the medicine men "doctors" carry with them warrior's medicine before

a'ləm'ska'ti·t' i·la'o'keyək haŋg tamaeha'ŋg. wu'ska'-
they go off They have a war dance said sometimes. The young

ti·la'ək' wəli·'hil·i·k'cə'mən awe·'n hɔ'k·ae wu'ndji
warriors scratch themselves a person's body that is why

we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n təli·' te'pi·lə'ə·i·n a'hi· xahe'len·a'u'ki·
to convince that they are able very many are

ha't·e· ehela'ehɔə·i·'t·up' wa'ni· lən·a'p·e. ə'n·da
they had the performances the Delawares. When

we'ndja'ki·t' təli·' do·'pali·n ci·'takɔ i·la'o'k·an
they are prepared to scout or have war dance

ək cəmu'tc' lə'mwe ə'n·da pa'sa''hɔmaŋg
and also long time ago when they played Indian football

a'hi· təmi·'ki· awe·'n wəli·'hil·i·k'can hɔ'k·ayə
very ofttimes anyone scratch himself [until bleeds] on body

[1] Archibald Loudon, "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 269-70. See also for Shawnee

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ta'mæhaŋg	awe·'n	ə'nda	we·'i·tci·na'k'·si·t'	təli·'
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that

kąci·lə'ə·i·n	ɔk	ni·hi·l·a't·aŋge	elki·'kwi·
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]	how in any way

ai·'hiwe·t'	lowe·'nhaŋg	api·'laxta·.
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

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In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life.

It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21-2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
357. Average height						•	•		5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358. All have high cheek-bones						—		+	+		—	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359. Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						•+		+	+	+		+
360. General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents												
361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			•(+)		+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
362. Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	
363. Preceded by demand for redress					+	s	+	•	+		+	
364. Notice of war given					—	—	—		+		•+	
365. Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366. War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367. Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368. Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	—		—	
369. Commander appointed by civil chiefs						—	+	+	+		+	
370. Commander volunteers						+	—	—	—		—	
371. Inferior officers appointed by commander						—	+	+	+		+	
372. Inferior officers volunteer						+	—	•	—		—	
373. Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374. Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375. Feast				•+			•+	•+	•+		+	
376. Dance				+	+		+	+	—		+	
377. Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378. Subdivisions of forces on march	+				s	—	+		+		+	
379. Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	—	+	
380. Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381. March in single file				+	s	+	•+	•	(+)	•—	•—	
382. Encampment arranged East and West						+	•+	+	•—		•—	
383. Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	1	•	•	•	
384. Guns stacked against poles						+	+	•+	•	•	•	
385. Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

| | | |

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

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of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period. 713

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party. 726 787

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence. 723

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period. 727

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated 728

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W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 538 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

JOHN JOHNSTON—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments. 361 726

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know who had been there, and which direction they went. The way they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp. [202]

79. Identification of makers of encampment

JOHN JOHNSTON—They can [identify them] because every tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that were in them. 361 202

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents. 181

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

HECKEWELDER stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 784 825

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375. Feast

721 ZEISBERGER reported the feast preceding a war party to be of a hog.

CAPTAIN PIPE said it was a bear that was eaten.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said a bear was eaten if available, otherwise a buck.

J. W. said that the feast was preceded by a fast.

381. March in single file

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—They march in single file so long as they suppose themselves out of danger, but when by their spies they learn that caution is necessary, they separate into smaller bodies and form a solid one, as circumstances and the plan of attack render necessary.

W. T. and E. R. both said that war leader went first and the rest followed "in a herd."

382. Encampment arranged in east-west direction

CAPTAIN PIPE—When the party encamp they cut two long poles which they fasten to stakes at the distance of three or four feet from the ground, on opposite sides. In the centre between these poles two stakes are fastened in the earth from which their cooking kettle is suspended. On each side of the fire the warriors repose themselves having their weapons at their heads, resting against the poles. The leader places himself at the eastern end of this open encampment, the sides of which are generally made to run east and west; and notwithstanding the ease with which a warrior can creep out at the sides, he is compelled by custom to rise and walk in the line between the feet of his companions and go out at the end. Nor is any person permitted to go under the cooking poles in crossing from one side to the other. In the morning they leave the encampment without eating, following the chief, who goes out at the eastern end of the lodge singing his war song as they march.

J. W. and E. R. said war encampments were arranged in a circle.

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384. Guns stacked against pole

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

HECKEWELDER said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villiagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

CAPTAIN PIPE—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

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408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 787 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.